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(17-6) Research Notes on Don Daeng

by Prof. Prasert

1. History of DD
2. Rural Development
3. Election of Kamnan
4. Election of Headman
5. Pakorn's Notes on Production Relations in DD
6. Biography of DD Headman
7. An interview with Mr Nhu (Tambon's traditional doctor)
8. Population Statistics of Changwat Khon Kaen and Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen

I. History of Ban Don Daeng

Records regarding the first group of settlers who came to DD are unreliable and contradictory. According to Pho Sang, the first group who came to DD consisted of 3 families headed by Khu Chamnan and originating from Ban Don Daeng, Roi-et. They came here directly after 11 days of travelling and later were joined by a group from Don Tae, a nearby settlement. This latter group was also migrants. Most other informants, including the late Pho Taen, Pho Khen, Pho Ma and former headman An do not mention this first group of 3 families. They, however, agree that the first settlers came from Roi-et and moved to several places before finally settling at DD. First, they stayed at Ban Or (บ้านโอร) where the remain of an old Khmer-style sand stone pagoda still stands and is still used as place for ordination of monks. It is located near Ban Non Khwao, village No. 10 of Tambon Don Han and an annual Bun is still held there. This is likely because there must be some people belonging to Khmer-Suay ethnic group. The Khmer empire at Angkor Wat extended its power many hundred years ago to cover most of the Northeast and the Central part of Thailand for some time as can be seen from the remains of a few Khmer style structures still recognized today. It was thus likely that there were some people of Khmer-Suay stock in the area around DD, though very small in number and very low in the level of cultural development. These people were certainly overwhelmed, assimilated or driven away by the new Thai-Lao settlers who migrated from the more populous areas to the east (Roi-et and Ubon) and to the north (Khon Kaen). The Thai-Lao are the new comers to the interior of the Northeast. Formerly their villages were concentrated along the banks of the Mekhong

river. Migration in a significant number took place early in the 19th century.

The settlers from Roi-et did not stay long at Ban Or. The late Pho Taen and other informants mentioned the fear among the settlers spread by the news of Chinese Ho's invasion into Laos and Northeast Thailand. There were, of course, fighting in Laos which was then a part of Thailand and the sending of troops from Bangkok. This might create a panic among the settlers. So they moved further, first to Ban Don Kaen Sai (บ้านดอนแคนсай) which was a samall village not far away and stayed there for a while (about 10 years according to the late Pho Taen). This village was deserted, with people moving out in several directions. Now it is just an upland field within Tambon Don Han. The group from Roi-et moved to Don Tae (ดอนเต๋) and stayed there for 5 or 6 months. They decided to leave Don Tae after a big king cobra climbed over the body of one of the important leaders of the group while he and his son were asleep one night. This was considered a bad omen and they were afraid of the power of the evil spittits. So they moved again and finally settled at DD, not far away from Don Tae. Besides houses, they built a Wat because there were a few monks, mostly their ordained sons, coming with them. They also built an ancestral shrine (Saal Pu Ta). The name "Don Daeng" was given after the red kenaf plants wildy growing in the area.

The uncertainty of the identity of the first settlers can be resolved by studying the genealogy of present leading families of DD. Since the first settlers, more families had moved in from Roi-et as well as from Amphoe Kosum, Changwat Mahasarakham. In the early period kinship groups or "sum" can be easily recognized and seemed to be clearly distinct in light of the recent origins of ancestors who came from different villages. According to Pho Ma, the original people (probably of Khmer-Suay stock), who remained at Ban Or when the settlers from Roi-et left, also moved to DD later on but he remembers that by the time he was a small boy these people had already left DD.

The most important kinship group came from Ban Yang, Amphoe Kosum, consisting of 4 siblings of 3 sisters and one brother. They came when there were already about 40 families in DD and had to buy land from earlier settlers, though at a very cheap price, most free forest land being already privately claimed by this time. This group of siblings produced many offsprings whose descendants have become leading members of DD at present.

According to Pho Sang, reclamation of the Nongs for paddy fields progressed in this order, i.e. Nong Kae, Nong Doen, Nong
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Sikung, Nong Doan, Nong Klang, Nong Chiang Ko and Non Kwai Tay. The following Nongs were claimed in the later period, i.e., Nong Ngu Leum, Non Hai, Nong Bua, Nong Sim Ban and Nong Haai. (In the early time Non Sim Ban was the site of the Wat and full of shrubs. Nong Bua was a depression full of water and weeds and could not be used for rice growing).

As to the time of the settling of the village, this can only be surmised. According to the official record, DD was founded in B.E. 2414 (1871). Probably this is the year when the first headman was officially appointed and the existence of the village was legally recognized. The first settlers must come here some years before this.

According to the present Kamnan of Tambon Don Han, the oldest villages in this area (except Ban Tha Phra) are Ban Nong Ya Praek, (within T. Don Han), Ban Nong Bua Di Mi (within T. Tha Phra), Ban Non Muang and Ban Kok Klang (both within Amphoe Kosum). They were founded more than 150 years ago. Migration to this area came from Ubon, Roi-et and Mahasarakham to the east and from Khon Kaen to the north.

The event which is still remembered by old men is the big fire taking place in 1914 (Pho Snag was about 4 years old, the late Pho Taen about 7. DD had its second headman who came to the village as a small boy with his father in the first group of settlers). At that time there were about 40 families living in a congested cluster adjacent to the Wat on the southern and eastern side. The fire was started by an accident caused by a women burning shells to make lime for chewing with betel nuts. The hall of the Wat and most houses were burnt, being built of wooden and bamboo materials and having thatched roofs. After the fire about 10 families moved to settle in Don Han by clearing the forest there. There is a conflict of information here. Pho Sang claimed that Don Han was already a village of about 30 - 40 families with its own Wat when DD's 'burnt-out' families moved there. Pho Taen and other informants claimed that there was no one living there. It is likely that by that time there existed already Ban Don Han but there was still plenty of forest land nearby, making settlement by DD families possible. It seems that DD villagers would like to claim that their village is older than Ban Don Han.

The late Pho Taen's family and Pho Sang's family were among those who moved to Don Han. The former stayed there for 6 years and moved again to Ban Don Noi when the late Pho Taen was about 13 years old. Pho Sang stayed 5 - 6 years and returned to DD. Ban Don Noi was first established by DD families who moved to Don Han after the fire. Because Don Han was far from their paddy fields, so after 6 years there they decided to move again and established Ban Don Noi in order to

be near to their paddy fields. Thus Ban Don Noi began about 1920. Later on more families from DD moved in.

The bigger group of burnt-out families in DD decided to build their new houses in another part of the village which was near Nong Kae Pond. At that time Nong Kae was only a low land paddy field. By building a levee to keep water from flowing down into Lam Huay San in the dry season, they succeeded in having a natural pond which, among other things, assured them of having enough water to fight any fire that might happen again in the future.

Important Events Related to DD

- 2414 (1871) DD was officially founded
- 2456 (1913) DD school was founded
- 2457 (1914) Big fire in DD
- 2486 (1943) Village lay-out was changed under the government's war time policy of rural reconstruction. New roads were built, following a checker board pattern.
- 2498 (1955) The present road from Don Noi to Ban Sawang through DD and Don Han was built by free labor of the villagers at their own initiative, replacing the former worn out cart road which since then was not used any more. At first it was only a dirt road, not paved by laterite. This was done for the first time in 1966, with free village labor and government-provided laterite. Since then periodic repaving has been made with financial helps from the government.
- 2507 (1964) New kind of chili was introduced and banks of Lam Huay San below the levee were utilized for vegetable growing for the first time.
- 2500 (1957) The Wat's preaching hall was built, mostly out of villagers' money and labor contributions.
- 2508 (1965) Northeast Agricultural Research Center was established.
- 2509 (1966) Village Development Committee was set up under the policy of the Department of Community Development which since has assigned at least one C.D. worker to work in the constituent villages in the Tambon.
- 2508 (1965) Health station opened at Ban Don Han.
- 2513 (1970) Mid-wife station opened at Nong Ya Praek.
- 2516 (1973) Former Headman An elected.
- 2518 (1975) Tambon Council was revitalized and made the central agency in promoting rural development. Baht 500,000 were given directly by the government to each rural Tambon to launch development projects. This grant has been renewed since 1979 and known as Rural Job Creation fund since 1980. The amount of the grant varies with the size and needs of each Tambon.

- 2520 (1977) Electricity came to DD, Don Han, Don Noi and Ban Sawang, with villagers contributing the largest share of the expenses. It was in 1971 that the idea was first mooted and villagers started to contribute to the fund.
- 2523 (1980) Construction of the Bot of the Wat began out of villagers' contribution and donations from outside.
- 2525 (1982) The second Wat (Wat Pa) was built.
- 2526 (1983) The present headman, Peng Latlongmuang, was elected.

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II Rural Development

Rural development has long been recognized as one of the most important problems facing the government in its effort to develop the country and raise the living standards of the people, the majority of whom live in the rural areas. Various strategies and policies have been tried under different names. Since the past few years rural development has become a topic which gains a wide public interest and has become a major concern of the government economic and social development planners. The present government meanwhile has made rural development its most important task in solving the country's problems. The present prime minister, General Prem Tinnasulanonda, has taken a strong personal interest in this, being convinced of its urgency from his extensive experience as commander of the Army fighting communist insurgency in the Northeast.

The increased interest in rural development arises from the failure of the country's past economic and social development 5-years plans to reduce the gaps between urban and rural income. At the end of the 4th plan's period (1981) it was found that per capita income in the rural areas was still far behind that in the urban areas, despite the plan's policies to reduce the gaps. It means the average annual economic growth rate of more than 7% since the first plan adopted in 1961 has benefited the urban more than the rural population. Contrary to expectations, the gaps between the two groups seem to be widened rather than narrowed. Besides, there is also a problem of increasing gaps between regions, particularly between the Central and the Northeast regions. The World Bank's study of income distribution and the problem of rural poverty which finds that a large group of rural population is still below the poverty line has also contributed to a greater interest of the Thai planners in the problem of rural poverty and rural development.

The Thai planners are fully aware that rural poverty is a bottleneck in the country's effort at economic development. Real economic development cannot take place if most of the rural population, about 80 per cent of the total, still remain poor. Political leaders also recognize that the root cause of communist insurgency is the poverty of the rural population. It follows that the best way to fight communism as well as to eliminate the bottleneck to economic development is to eliminate rural poverty and social injustice by means of speeding up rural development.

The 5th 5-year plan, beginning in 1982, is very explicit in making rural development and reduction of income disparity between the rural and urban population as well as between different regions its most important strategy of development. It not only recognizes the urgency of the problem, but also devises measures to bring about its solution. Besides pledging more government resources to promote rural development in general, it also launches a special development plan for selected rural areas classified as belonging to the "poor areas" and promises to rationalize and streamline the government machinery in rural planning, implementation and administration.

The moving force behind this new idea is the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board which has been made the national center for planning and coordinating rural development projects undertaken by various government agencies both in Bangkok and in the provinces. A new organ has been set up called "National Rural Development Committee" (น.ร.ด.ค.) headed by the prime minister and having ministers and top bureaucrats of important ministries as members, with the Office of the NESDB acting as secretariat. At the Changwat and Amphoe levels, a development committee is also set up, with the governor or the Nai Amphoe as chairman and consisting of representatives of important government agencies operating in the area as well as some prominent citizens. To implement the new concept of rural development which, among other things, emphasizes the villagers' participation and careful planning and coordination, the National Committee has issued many orders, regulations and guidelines to government agencies both in Bangkok and in the provinces to follow.

From 1982 on, every Changwat under the responsibility of its development committee is required to prepare an annual development plan. Unlike plans in the past which were partial plans prepared by a certain government agency for its own use and from its point of view, the new Changwat Development Plan is a real master plan to be followed seriously by all government units concerned with rural development in the Changwat. It is supposed to represent a meeting half way

between the villagers' wishes and the government's abilities and policies. The villagers' wishes are represented in the Tambon's Development Plan prepared by the villagers' representatives in the Tambon Council. The plans from the Tambons are submitted to the Amphoe Development Committee which after making some adjustment in light of the government's resources and policies prepares an Amphoe Development Plan and submits it to the Changwat Development Committee. This is a bottom-up planning. At the same time the Changwat committee will receive instructions from the central ministries and departments in Bangkok regarding their policies, capabilities and rough plans of projects they would like to undertake in the Changwat. This is a top-down planning. It is the responsibility of the Changwat Committee to reconcile the two plans and come out with a final development plan for the year. The central ministries and departments will then be informed of this plan. Subsequently each central government agency will prepare its annual work plan, based on the Changwat's development plan sent to it and listing specific projects and activities it intends to undertake in the Changwat in the year and the amount of budget requested.

One new feature of this work plan is that the site of the villages and Tambons which the projects are intended to benefit must be clearly specified and the provincial authorities as well as the villagers must be kept informed of this before implementation takes place.

This new planning process is intended to incorporate the villagers' wishes in the final plan as well as to solve the perennial problem of repetition and lack of coordination of activities undertaken by different government units within the Changwat. The central ministries and departments in Bangkok are forced to make careful planning and evaluation in consultation with each other and with the Changwat authorities before final decisions are made about the projects to be undertaken, the site of the villages and tambons in which they will be launched, the time period and the amount of budget spent. At present only departments in the 4 central ministries - Interior, Agriculture, Public Health and Education - are required to follow the new planning procedure in cooperation with the Changwat and Amphoe authorities. Their activities have much to do with rural development. It is hoped that their efficiency will be increased and this will help speed up the pace of rural development, even without much further resources committed to it. They will have to be less arbitrary in their attitudes and will have to delegate more power to their representatives in the provincial government who work under the supervision and coordination of the governor at the Changwat level and of the Nai Amphoe at the Amphoe level, who are supposed to have a better knowledge of local conditions.

In preparing the annual Changwat and Amphoe developments plans, the new procedure also requires a new classification of development projects to be undertaken. So far there have been many kinds of development projects undertaken by various government units under a variety of names, intended supposedly for different purposes and utilizing different sources of budget. This is quite a confusion. The new procedure puts some order into this. Now development projects are classified into two basic categories, i.e. those under special policies of the government and those under the regular responsibilities of the 4 ministries mentioned above.

The first categories covers projects under 4 special policies so far announced by the government. These policies are concerned with:

1. National security. Examples are projects to train villagers in civil defense, counter-communist insurgency operation, etc. These projects are more important in Amphoes with the problem of Communist insurgency. It is not important in Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen.

2. Development of Rural Areas Specifically Designated as Poor. As said above, this is a novel idea of the present development plan. Based on such criteria as the degree of dependence on rain-fed rice growing, average size of land ownership, per capita and sources of income, the Office of NESDB has so far designated 286 Amphoes in 38 Changwats as "rural poor districts" (in 1983). Not unexpectedly, the majority of these districts are located in the Northeast while all Amphoes and Changwats in the Central region are left out, presumably for the reason that they have already received a great deal of investment in infra-structure from the government. Since 1982 the government has allotted a special budget to finance projects aimed at giving immediate help to villagers in these districts. These projects are in addition to the ones financed in the ordinary budget. In 1982 there were 15 kinds of projects specially intended for the poor districts, i.e. fishery resource, water resource, poultry raising, cattle "banks", projects financed by Japanese yen loans, Amphoe hospitals, basic public health services, nutrition, legal advice, distribution of free books, clean drinking water, protein food production, upland rice growing, use of organic fertilizers and improvement of soil salinity conditions. The number and nature of projects are revised every year to suit the changing conditions. The budget spent (excluding foreign loans) are over 620 millions baht in 1982 and over 745 in 1983. To make sure that the poorest villages get the priority for the projects the Amphoe authorities of the poor districts now are required to list about 50 villages in the Amphoe in the order of their poverty. It is expected that

all these 50 villages will sooner or later within the 5 year period of the present plan (1981-1985) and in the order of their poverty, benefit at least from one project designed for the poor districts.

3. Water Resources Development. A few years ago a national committee has been set up to speed up and coordinate projects on water resource development undertaken by different government departments. Inadequate water resources have been recognized as one of the most important obstacles to rural development, particularly in the Northeast. A special budget has been allotted, under the auspices of this committee, to government departments concerned with water resource development. This is also in addition to the regular appropriations they receive.

4. Rural Job Creation. (Q.N.V.) This is the most important policy from the point of view of the villagers because it involves a grant of considerable amount of money and gives them a wide freedom to choose projects to utilize it. The project was first launched in 1975, partly with a political motive. The announced aim was to stimulate and revitalize the Tambon Councils in the rural area by means of giving them Baht 500,000 each to launch their own development projects at their own initiative and with a minimum supervision by the government. In most tambons as in Don Han, this amount was equally divided among the constituent villages of the tambons. This policy was discontinued the following years and has been adopted again since 1979. The present name "Rural Job Creation" policy has been used since 1980 to emphasize the intention of the government to create jobs for the rural people in the dry season which comes after the rice harvest. It is expected that the opportunity to earn income in their own villages will help discourage seasonal rural out-migration. At the same time the villages will be provided with basic infra-structure and earn the experience of self-government and self-responsibility by means of Tambon Councils' meetings, preparation and implementation of Tambons' development plans.

Each year the government allocates a special budget involving more than 1,000 million baht to implement this policy (Baht 3,500 milion in 1981 and Baht 1975.5 million in 1982). A national committee will distribute the money to all Changwats except Bangkok, each receiving an amount depending on the number of population, the level and sources of income, its needs and problems. Naturally Changwats in the Northeast get preferential treatment. The Changwat authorities will then distribute the money to the constituent Amphoes and the Amphoe to its constituent Tambons, following the same criteria as used by the national committee. At the Tambon level it is the Tambon council who decides how the money is going to be used,

subject to the approval of the Amphoe authorities, Since 1982 all Tambon councils are required by the government to prepare a 5-year development plan for the period 1982 - 1986, same as that of the national plan. Assisted by the government representatives at the Tambon level - a community development worker, an agricultural extension worker, a public health worker and a village school teacher - the Tambon council will discuss the Tambon's problems and needs and think of all possible projects that could be undertaken in its constituent villages and the likely sources of financial help and the government agencies they could depend on. The projects are listed for each year of the plan period and in the order of their priority. At this stage no attempt is made to estimate their cost. The Amphoe authorities will be informed of this and will take it into account when preparing the yearly Amphoe development plan, as mentioned before.

Since the projects listed in the Tambon 5-year plan are only rough estimates of the future conditions, a yearly revision is thus needed. The most important revision concerns the projects to be supported by the "Rural Job Creation" fund. Usually, these projects are implemented during the dry season - from January to June - when villagers are free from their agricultural work. Sometimes before this, the Tambon council will be informed of the amount of the grant likely to be given and requested to submit the projects intended to be implemented. Members of the council - the Kamnan, headmen of all constituent villagers, one elected representative from each village, one elected Tambon traditional doctor and one appointed school teacher who acts as the council's secretary must reach an agreement as to the projects to be submitted and their priority.

In principle, projects submitted should be ones already included in the Tambon 5-year plan but in DD case it seems that this was not closely followed. Final decisions will be made by the Amphoe authorities, following guidelines laid down by the national committee which give preference to certain categories of projects such as those related to water resource development, those intended to meet a basic needs or raise living standards of the people and those the expenditures of which require a high proportion of hired local labor. The Tambon council is given responsibility for supervising the implementation of the projects and in taking care of them after completion.

For Tambon Don Han the grants under the Rural Job Creation policy for the past years - 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 - are Baht 1,171,380, 673,562, 389,648 and 429,800 respectively. Of this amount DD got Baht 109,070 in 1980, 125,446 in 1981, none in 1982 and 123,900 in 1983. According to Mr. An, the former

headman, the present Kamnan and the school teacher who is secretary of the council, members of the council usually can reach consensus as to the priority of the projects and the villages to benefit from them, though sometimes votes were taken. Each headman knows what his village wants as well as the conditions of other villages. Compromise can be easily reached at least because they know that money will be available again the following years to support projects not submitted this year. Besides, some projects benefited more than one village and every one agrees that only those projects that are sure to get the Amphoe authorities' approval should be submitted. As a result there has been no ill feeling among them and village rivalry is avoided. Formerly in some Tambon councils equal division of government grants was resorted to but this practice is no longer allowed.

The other basic category of development projects included all the projects and activities planned to be undertaken directly by the 4 ministries in the fiscal year, usually through their representatives at the Changwat Amphoe administrative levels, and utilizing normal budget appropriations. These projects constitute the largest part of the development plan and represent the normal functions of the government. Following is a brief description of the activities of the 4 ministries at the rural level.

1. Ministry of Interior

By tradition this ministry is responsible for "eliminating the suffering and promoting the welfare" of the public. Its officials, headed by the governor at the Changwat level and Nai Amphoe at the Amphoe level are closest to the villagers. All Tambons' kamnans and village headmen report to them and have regular meetings at Amphoe offices at least once a month, at which they will be informed of government policies, instructions, orders and projects, if there is any, the government intends to undertake in the areas of their responsibility. The Ministry of Interior now is responsible for national security, public order, registration of legal titles to land ownership and provision of public utilities such as electricity, water resources, rural roads. The governor and the Nai Amphoe are responsible for coordinating the policies and field activities of all government units functioning in the area. Through Kamnan and village headmen, the Nai Amphoe and his deputies are kept informed of village affairs and refer their problems and requests for assistance to other relevant government units. The community development worker, one assigned for every Tambon, is expected to help the Tambon council in preparing its development plan and to stimulate local initiatives and participation in village improvement. The Community Development Department in Bangkok backs up his activities by giving direct assistance to the villages in

various forms. However, its budget is rather small, even though it has a development fund financed by loans from Japan to support its activities in the Northeast. Its major purpose is to stimulate local initiatives and participation through the activities of the village development committees now set up in most villages in Thailand rather than to give direct assistance through government-initiated and financed projects. This type of projects has been under the responsibility of the Accelerated Rural Development Department established in the late '60s during the height of Communist insurgency in the Northeast. Its activities are concentrated in the remote and poor rural villages which once were susceptible to Communist influences and mostly consist of building roads and improving water resources. So far Tambon Don Han has not received any assistance from this Department.

2. Ministry of Agriculture

The important departments of this ministry are Agricultural Extension, Irrigation, Animal Husbandry, Fishery, Forestry, Cooperatives and Agricultural Research. It also controls the government financed Bank for Agriculture and Cooperatives which gives loans in various forms to cooperatives and farmers' groups and directly to individual farmers. With the World Bank's assistance now many Tambons each have one extension worker assigned to it, usually a graduate of agricultural college at the vocational level. This worker is required to visit his assigned villages a few times every month and work with the villagers through leaders chosen for their known high interest in agriculture (In DD this man is Mr. Nhu Saenhom) It is the government's hope that an intensification and better planning and coordination of the projects and activities undertaken by the different departments of this ministry will contribute toward raising agricultural productivity and thus the level of income of the rural population.

3. Ministry of Health

As to the provision of health service, the government's goal calls for the establishment of at least one health station and one mid-wife station in each rural Tambon, plus one small hospital for each Amphoe. Tambon Don Han already has these facilities. The Ministry of Health's activities also included preventive medicine in such fields as nutrition, sanitation supply of clean drinking water, physical check-up of school students and distribution of low cost, ordinary medicines to villagers through village-operated and financed medicine "banks" which are planned to be set up one each in every village. Also planned are the selection and training of villagers to act as health volunteers and health communicators - one in each village in the case of the former and one for every 20 families in the village in the case of the latter.

4. Ministry of Education

This ministry is in charge of education below the university level. Through its representatives at the Changwat and Amphoe levels it controls village schools and appoint teachers. From now on its activities - building new school, repairing existing schools, buying school equipment, opening of adult education classes, etc. - must be planned in terms of projects and included in the Changwat and Amphoe development plans.

Besides the projects under the above categories and subcategories, the Tambon 5-year plan also includes 2 other kinds of projects which involve the use of public funds, i.e. projects supported by local land tax and those supported by funds allotted by the government to members of Parliament elected from the constituency in which the Tambon is located. In Tambon Don Han plan, there are also a few projects of this type.

Land Tax

In Tambon Don Han land tax now is assessed at 5 Baht per rai and applies to both agricultural land and house site. Each land owner is allowed a small deduction of 1/4 rai and the rest of his land is subject to the tax. Usually he pays his tax through his headman who is entitled to receive 5% of the total amount collected in the village while another 1% goes to the Kamnan of the Tambon. The collected tax is sent to the Amphoe authorities which will deduct another 5% as cost of tax collection and the balance split into 2 parts, i.e. 80% earmarked to the Tambon council in the form of the government grant and 20% sent to the Changwat council, a body of representatives elected from constituent Amphoes of the Changwat (9 elected from Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen in which Tambon Don Han is located). The Changwat council prepares its own annual budget in which this 20% of the land tax is one important source of its income and in which development projects and other activities under its auspices are listed. This budget is very small, compared with the sum spent by the provincial government bureaucracy from the national budget. Most Tambons thus cannot expect to benefit much from the Changwat council's projects.

As to the 80% of the tax earmarked for the Tambon, it is up to the Tambon council to decide how it is going to be spent. In Tambon Don Han it seems to be the practice to give the money to the 10 constituent villages on rotation basis and the money has been mostly spent in projects having to do with village road repairs or improvement of water resources.

In an ordinary year land tax in Tambon Don Han totals more than 70,000 Baht. However in years of severe flooding and

drought, no tax is collected if crop damages amount to 2/3 of normal harvest. The rate will be reduced to one half in years of 1/3 crop damages. In the past 10 years because of flooding there have been many times in which this tax was exempted or reduced. (See details of land tax in separate sheets)

According to the law, Tambon councils are entitled to receive a fixed share of certain other taxes collected by the government in the Tambons. These are:

1. Taxes on houses in cases the owners receive income such as rents from them or turning them into shops selling merchandise.

2. Taxes on businesses causing public nuisances, e.g. animal slaughter houses, etc.

3. Fees for permits to slaughter pigs, cattle

4. Taxes on advertising boards

Tambon Don Han has no income from these taxes because there are no activities subject to them.

Members of Parliament's Development Fund

For political reasons, every M.P. has been allotted 1,500,000 Baht from the national budget supposedly for promoting development of his or her constituency. He has a wide freedom to spend the money in any project he thinks worthwhile. The government controls only the disbursement of the funds. The selection of projects is prerogative of the M.P.s who usually follow the villagers' wishes in anticipation of their support in the next election. The constituency in which Tambon Don Han is a part has 3 M.P.s. According to the present Kamnan, in 1983 the following villages in Tambon Don Han benefited from the M.P.'s funds.

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| 1. Don Daeng | 10,000 <u>Baht</u> toward the fund to build the central hall of the <u>Wat</u> |
| 2. Don Han | 15,000 <u>Baht</u> to the fund of the <u>Wat</u> |
| 3. Nong Ya Praek | 150,000 <u>Baht</u> for deepening the villages's pond |
| | 10,000 <u>Baht</u> for building school fences |
| 4. Non Tun | 30,000 <u>Baht</u> for building a village meeting hall |

Conclusion

What is said above mostly concerns the government policy emphasizing the central role of planning in rural development and the steps in the planning process. This is a characteristic way of thinking of economic planners and, to some extent, top bureaucrats in the central ministries, naively optimistic in the magical power of the plans and very much concerned with asserting control over field operations by the operating departments. Insofar as it is impossible to plan

every thing in detail before hand and conditions are always changing, including one's idea about what should be done, it can be expected that the projects and activities actually undertaken by the operating officials in the field will be different from those listed in the plans to some extent. This seems to be the case in DD. For example, in 1983 it happened that the Irrigation Department undertook an important project in DD which was not listed in the Amphoe Development Plan for the year. This is the repair of Nong Kae's embankment costing more than one million baht. The building of 14 water tanks in DD was also not listed in the Plan even though it was included in the Tombon's 5-year plan. Thus there is a reason to believe that there will be more government projects and activities undertaken in DD than those listed in the plans, either of the Amphoe or the Tambon. Even in the past, the former headman's record mentions several activities undertaken by the government in DD.

Land Tax in Ban Don Daeng

I. Land tax actually collected in DD

1978 = 9,170 Baht
 1979 = Exempted because of flood
 1980 = 9,611 Baht
 1981 = Exempted because of flood
 1982 = 8,950 Baht
 1983 = Exempted because of drought

II. Estimated Land Tax in DD

1978 - 1981 = 9,616.74 a year
 1982 - 1984 = 9,047.10 a year

The amount is expected to be less in the future because land will be subdivided for inheritance, resulting in more land owners, each of whom is entitled to a deduction of 1/4 rai of land before the amount of tax is calculated.

III. Projects supported by local land tax in Tambon Don Han

1975 = 18,249 B. Roads in B. Lub Ya Ka
 1976 = 36,499 B. Roads in B. Sawang
 1980 = 64,101 B. Roads in B. Lao Nok Chum
 1981 = No tax collected (Estimated at 63,770 Baht and intended for roads from B. Nong Ya Prak to B. Lao Not Chum)
 1982 = 64,101 B. Roads in B. Non Tun
 1983 = No tax collected (Estimated at 74,319 Baht and intended for roads in B. Don Daeng)
 1984 = Estimated at 74,604 Baht and earmarked for B. Don Daeng

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III. Election of Tambon Don Han Kamnan
(November 1981)

(Based partly on the interview with DD headman)

There were 7 candidates in the beginning out of the 10 headmen who were entitled to enter the election. Two candidates withdrew later. They were from these villages (listed according to the number of votes they got)

1. Nong Ya Prak
2. Non Tun
3. Ban Sawang
4. Don Daeng
5. Don Han

No. 5 was ill, so he did not make active campaign and according to DD headman he was not popular with the people because he was not active generally speaking in carrying out his duties.

DD headman said he was not active in making the campaign. His intention in entering the election was to take votes away from candidate No. 3 whom he did not want elected. This man was just elected headman of Ban Sawang, very junior to him and not capable in his opinion. He was not active in making campaign until 10 days before the election when it became clear that candidate No. 5 of Don Han was ill and could not make the campaign. There was a good chance for him to get elected. He tried to make a bargain with No. 3 asking him to drop out of the election but he failed to get him to agree. So the race went on. He gave a promise to villagers in Ban Sawang, DD, DH and DN by making it known that if elected he would pay electricity bills for them for 2 months and would slaughter a cow to hold a party. Most villagers did not vote for him, however. Even many DD villagers supported No. 3 for he promised to donate Baht 8,000 to DD if elected to contribute to the construction of the Bot. The amount was already given to certain DD leaders for safekeeping. DD headman was requested to donate more or at least the same amount but he refused, telling them that he did not want to buy votes. The amount he spent in entertaining them was also small. On the whole DD villagers were disappointed with him.

DD headman said he was not active in making the campaign. This may be true. He was half-hearted in getting elected, reasoning that if elected the position of Kamnan would be quite a burden for him while the pay was rather low. Besides, he was not willing to spend a huge sum of money as No. 1 and No. 2 did in the campaign. He alleged that No. 1, the winner, spent altogether more than Baht 40,000 while No. 2 spent about 30,000. There is no way to get this money back because the

Kamnan's salary is very low (from Baht 550 to 850 a month), unless corruption is resorted to, which he did not like and was difficult to practice because there are other members in the Tambon Council who control the spending of the Tambon's funds given by the government.

According to DD headman, No. 3 of Ban Sawang spent about Baht 6,000. He himself spent about Baht 1,500, a small amount because he did not hand out money directly to buy votes. The money was spent in hiring a small pick-up truck with a loud speaker to travel to all villages in the Tambon to make announcement about his candidacy and tell his policies regarding Tambon's development. He was thinking of distributing hand bills with his photograph, records of achievement and policies to the villagers but he gave up the idea because he did not want to pay the cost of printing them (about Baht 200 per 1,000 copies). Besides the money spent for hiring the small truck, he spent some to buy rice whiskey and cigarettes for entertaining some people in the villages he visited. He did not have any agents who solicited votes for him.

No. 1, the winner, bought votes by giving Baht 10 each to voters in the villages along the same transportation route as his village (Nong Ya Prak). These villages form a group different from the one consisting of Ban Sawang, DH, DD and DN. No. 1 did not buy votes directly in the latter group. He also gave parties and had agents in all villages to encourage villagers to vote for him. No. 2 came to DD to give a campaign speech. He brought with him a Mo Lam entertainer to attract the crowd.

No. 3 of Ban Sawang spent less than No. 1 and No. 2. He did not buy votes directly but used the method of promising a sum of money to the villages mostly for development purposes in case he got elected. He made it known that the money was already deposited with his agents in the villages. DD was promised Baht 8,000. Most of the money was returned to him because he did not get elected. Only 400-500 Baht were kept for holding a party after the election.

Villagers seemed to be divided in their voting on the basis of the location of the villages along the main transportation routes. One group favored No. 1 and No. 2 candidates while another group favored No. 3 of Ban Sawang and No. 4 of Don Daeng. According to DD headman factionalism and conflict of leadership would not be a problem after the election. In the campaign, the words used were moderate. There were no personal attacks or accusations. All candidates knew each other very well and should feel very bad if personally attacked. They talked only about their policies if

getting elected. DD headman said the winner was also his friend, about the same age (55) and would have to rely on him and other headmen in carrying out his duties. He thus had to be careful about antagonizing the feelings of other candidates.

Of course, DD headman felt disappointed. It seemed that most DD leaders did not support him but voted for No. 3 because of the latter's promise to donate Baht 8,000 toward the construction of the Bot of the Wat. DD headman said he would like to see No. 2 elected because this man had the same ability as his, i.e. knowing how to approach high level government officials.

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IV. The Election of Headman in Don Daeng, July 1983 (based partly on the interview with Pho Ma and Pho Khen)

The former headman, Mr. [REDACTED] was forced to resign in 1983. He was accused by many DD villagers of misusing the fund given by the government to build 14 cement water tanks to store rain water under the rural job creation policy. As headman he was responsible for supervising the construction. The contractor came from another village. The contract required the use of 30 bags of cement per one tank. The headman was seen secretly selling 30 bags of cement to other villagers. This meant the construction of the tanks was not up to the standard stipulated in the contract. It was also alleged that the steel rods used in the construction were below standards. Worst of all the headman managed to have a private tank of his own built in his house compound at the same time that the village tanks were built. He, therefore, was suspected of corruption.

Under two leaders, Mr. [REDACTED] and Mr. [REDACTED] and supported also by Mr. [REDACTED], one of the active village leaders, a group of more than 40 villagers made a written petition to the Amphoe authorities requesting the latter to start an official investigation. A compromise was reached, according to which the headman would resign and the villagers would withdraw their petition. This was possible because the petition had not yet officially reached the Nai Amphoe. One of his deputies took care of the petition. He came to DD and encouraged the villagers to withdraw their petition on the condition that the headman would resign. The headman was reluctant but he had no choice because the case against him was strong, implying not only the abusing of authority but also criminal offenses. The investigation might also expose corruption in other cases such as the buying of laterite for paving village roads. The petitioning villagers also agreed to the compromise, reasoning that the headman used

to be a good person who did some good things to the village before.

Though sympathetic to the headman, Pho [redacted] advised him to accept the compromise. Pho [redacted] was very critical from the beginning, becoming disillusioned with him even though he strongly supported him in the election many years ago. The headman's son, one of the village delinquents, was very angry at the two leaders of the petitioning villagers. One night, under the heavy influence of alcohol and armed with a knife, he went straight to the house of one of the leaders and threatened to kill him. He was calmed down by other villagers and vented his anger by smashing 3 electricity meter boxes in front of the house. The headman had to agree to pay for the damage to prevent the case being reported to the police.

There were 3 candidates in the election and 405 votes were cast:

1.	[redacted]	receiving 133 votes
2.	[redacted]	128
3.	[redacted]	118
	Votes that were wrongly marked	26
	Total	<u>405</u>

There were more than 500 voters in the voting list. That means more than 1/5th did not vote. Before voting began, each candidate gave a brief speech. Before the election it was thought that No. 3 would win, followed by No. 2 and No. 1. Both No. 2 and 3 were well known, considered well-to-do and very active in village affairs. No. 2 owns one of the village rice mills, was on the committee in charge of keeping account of village finance and was leader of one of the 8 groups of DD. No. 3 was even more popular, being member of the village development committee, committee in charge of keeping account, school committee, as well as leader of one of the 8 groups. He ran in the headman election last time (1973) against former headman An who won. No. 1, the winner, was relatively less popular and had no formal position on any village committees.

Every candidate was engaged in vote buying. This practice unfortunately has now become institutionalized in most elections in rural Thailand, particularly in the Northeast, from the lowest level of headman election to the highest level of election to the National Assembly. The candidates either paid the voters directly before the election day or paid some active villagers on the basis of the number of votes they promised to deliver on the election day. In the latter case, the money will be returned to the candidate if he does not get elected. Still the candidate must pay the active villagers who acted as his vote canvassers for this help, about 100 - 200 Baht per person in advance.

All candidates relied on both direct buying and buying through vote canvassers. No. 1, the winner, paid 15 Baht for the votes received, mostly through vote canvassers. No. 2 paid 25 Baht each directly to some of his supporters on the night before the election day, regardless of whether he would be elected or not and promised to pay 20 Baht for one vote through his vote canvassers. No. 3 mostly relied on vote buying through vote canvassers, promising to pay 25 Baht per one vote. Besides, both No. 1 and No. 3 made it known that a big party would be given to all villagers in the case of his being elected. They had a big cow worth more than 5,000 Baht displayed in front of their houses, signifying that it would be killed on the occasion of his victory.

Pho [] said he voted for No. 3 but [] thought his son-in-law ([]) voted for No. 1, expecting the latter to appoint him as assistant headman. In this way Pho [] could be on good terms with No. 1 if he got elected, because he could claim that his son-in-law voted for him.

Pho [] and his wife voted for No. 1 while the rest of his family voted for No. 2. He admitted receiving 30 Baht from No. 1 for his vote and his wife's. He also admitted receiving 20 Baht from No. 2 and 25 Baht from No. 3. He did not say whether the money from the latter two was returned or not. (They did not get elected). No. 1 for whom he voted lives near his house and personally asked for his vote.

The former headman voted for No. 3. He naturally did not like No. 2 for his role in his forced resignation. Pho [] also voted for No. 3 but his brother ([]) voted for No. 1. His house is near No. 1's and his wife's original surname is also the same as No. 1's. [] thought one of his motives was to be appointed as assistant headman by No. 1.

No. 1 got elected, despite his junior status, probably because he had several vote canvassers working for him and because of the support from several kin groups (sum). The senior leaders of the village might prefer No. 2 or 3 because of their previous close association in running village affairs but the young men seemed to prefer No. 1. Besides, No. 1 is connected to important kin groups (sum), i.e., to the late Pho Taen as his son-in-law, and to the late Pho Han's sum through his father's marriage into this group.

This is the first time in DD headman election in which the competition was very keen. Even the former DD school master who is now an elected member of the Changwat Council and lives in Khon Kaen city came back with his two sons to DD on the election day to vote for No. 2. They can vote because they

still have their household registration in DD, thus being legal residents.

The intense competition for the post of headman and Kamnan is now a phenomenon found in most part of rural Thailand. Formerly there was likely to be a consensus as to the most suitable person and quite often out of modesty he had to be urged on by other villagers and the Amphoe authorities to take over the post. At present this is no longer the case in most villages. Many villagers now think they are capable and aspire to the positions of kamnan and headman. These positions have become more attractive to ambitious villagers. Besides traditional prestige and authority, these positions have been made more important by the government policies to suppress communist insurgency and to promote rural development. With more money coming to the villages from outside, they now carry more responsibility and power. The salaries given by the government may be nominal but the prestige and power of the positions, plus the fact that once elected the occupants can remain in office until the retirement age of 60, make them very attractive to ambitious villagers. It is thus not surprising that elections now are very keen and many candidates are willing to buy votes in order to get elected.

XX

V. Pakorn's Notes on "Production Relations"

In the early part of his report Pakorn describes traditional village life which is based on subsistence economy, simplicity, mutual help, self contentment and deep religiosity. Villagers' daily life from early morning until late evening was described. The description includes how different dishes are prepared, how fish, toads and frogs in the paddy fields are caught, how villagers work, how children spend their time, how the roles of adults change when they get old, the morality and aspirations of the villagers, etc. This traditional way of life has changed under modern influences, making villagers more competitive, materialistic and less religious in outlook.

This is followed by his thesis that in rice growing the need for cooperative labor is very important but this is not possible in the early stage of rice growing, i.e. plowing the field, preparing nursery beds and transplanting because every family is busy doing its own work to be in time with the coming rain. Mutual help or labor exchange among families is possible only at the harvest and threshing time when villagers are in a leisurely and festive mood in anticipation of a bountiful harvest. Cooperation also affords them the opportunity to

talk, enjoy friendship, foods and drinks which hosts are expected to provide at the time of labor exchange.

To provide labor for rice growing in the early part, it is thus important that the families must have enough able-bodied members. Pakorn thinks that this necessity has led to the custom of taking sons-in-law to live with or stay close to ones families. This is the case of Het Nam Kan Kin Nam Kan (working together, eating together). In this case there will be only one common rice barn for the cooperating families each having a claim to the padi stored according to its need. Owing to differential statuses and the need for mutual help, Pakorn notes that the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law is a sensitive and delicate matter in which the latter is required by social norms to always pay respect to the former.

In the other case the cooperating families, also of in-law and relatives, work together, may be on the parents-in-law's land, a certain rich close relative's land or on their pooled land resources with an understanding that each will get a share from the harvest and this share will be kept separately in each family's own rice barn. There is no fixed formula for sharing as this will depend on particular circumstances. This case is called Het Nam Kan Pan Kan or working together, getting a share.

The third arrangement is tenant farming which in the Northeast has a special word for it, i.e. Het Hai Kao Kin (working for the other so that he has rice to eat) from the standpoint of the tenant and Hai Kao Het Hai Kin (let him work so that I get rice to eat) from the standpoint of the land owner. The villagers traditionally do not call it either renting in or renting out, to deemphasize the unequal aspect of or the rent involved in the relationship. The family may have to rent out land because there is not enough labor or it is preoccupied with other businesses.

In his report Pakorn gives examples of these three cases from the data he got from DD. (██████████, No. 120; ██████████, No. 29; ██████████, No. 154; ██████████, No. 114 and his son-in-law, ██████████, No. 103; ██████████, No. 45; ██████████, No. 75 and his 2 sons-in-law, Nos. 27 and 201; and ██████████, the landowner, No. 115 and ██████████, the tenant, No. 142)

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VI. Biography of Don Daeng Headmen

(From an interview with former headman An Mahachai)

1. [REDACTED]
Very little is known of him. He probably came from a neighboring village, married in and was headman for a short time. He left no descendants in DD.
2. [REDACTED]
He was with the group of first settlers who came to DD. He was an old man when Mr. [REDACTED], the former headman, was a young boy. He came to DD when being a young boy with a group of settlers from Roi-et. The group consisted of only males who would clear the land first and then brought their females along later on. His contemporary who was well known to the villagers even at present was Pho [REDACTED]. The group first settled at Don Tae [REDACTED], a high ground not far away from DD and set out to clear the jungle but on a certain night as Pho [REDACTED] and his father slept, a big king cobra climbed over their bodies. The settlers considered this a bad omen. So they left Don Tae and moved further to settle at DD. Former headman An remembers seeing Pho [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] (Headman no. 2) when they were very old and he was still a child. Headman no. 2 was in his position for some time but all his male descendants moved out of DD, thereby ending this surname in this village. His daughter living in DD was married to a man of [REDACTED] surname who migrated from Roi-et. She was mother of Headman no. 10 ([REDACTED]) and also mother of father of father of Mr. [REDACTED] (the research assistant) (see Chart)
Pho [REDACTED]'s surname [REDACTED] also disappeared from DD because his male children moved out to marry in neighboring villages.
3. Nai [REDACTED]
His ancestor lived in a village near Khon kaen city. He migrated to Ban Nong Khoi, a neighboring village of DD and then moved to DD having been married to a woman here who was a member of the Roi-et group of settlers. He was headman for a long time and was father of Headman no.9 ([REDACTED])
4. [REDACTED]
He was born of father from Roi-et (Mr. [REDACTED]) [REDACTED], his father, was of the same generation as [REDACTED], ancestor of the [REDACTED] surname, one of the leading surnames in DD, who also came from Roi-et. He was headman for a short time. There are now a few [REDACTED] families in DD because most of his sons moved out.

5. [REDACTED]

He was headman for 10 years. His father came from Roi-et. He later on moved to Amphoe Chumpae, Changwat Khon Kaen to start a business (making cement products), resigning from the position of headman. He lived in A. Chumpae and died recently this year, reaching more than 80 years of age. A few villagers who knew him went to A. Chumpae to attend his cremation ceremony. While living, he maintained his interest in DD and once in a while returned to DD to make merit at the Wat. He gave several cement posts to replace worn-out wooden posts of the Wat hall few years ago.

6. [REDACTED]

He was headman for 2 years. It is not certain whether his father came from Roi-et or Mahasarakham. According to Pho [REDACTED], [REDACTED] Group originated from Roi-et but his nephew in the interview said, though not 100 per cent sure, that the group came from Mahasarakham. Probably Pho [REDACTED] was right. It is likely that the man was married to a woman from the Mahasarakham group.

7. [REDACTED]

He came from a neighboring village and married to a woman of the Mahasarakham group. He was headman for a short time and according to the interview made by Khun Pakorn, he was removed from headman position by the government because he was accused of disregarding the government's construction projects in Phetchabun. This was during the war time. He is still living.

8. [REDACTED]

He belonged to the Roi-et group and had few children, most of whom moved outside. There are only a few [REDACTED] families at present in DD. He was dismissed by the government over the charge of misusing the fund provided by the government to help building a well for the villagers. He used villagers' labor, obtained free materials and appropriated the money for himself.

9. [REDACTED]

(From a direct interview) [REDACTED]

Son of Headman No. 3, he was very popular with DD villagers who were impressed with his leadership ability, his knowledge of using Buddhist Dharma to fight evil spirits (being a Mo Dharma), his knowledge of traditional treatment of illnesses by using herbs as well as with his knowledge of the outside world and his active role in pursuing various occupations. He was the first DD villager who raised racing horses for sale. As a Mo Dharma he must observe certain taboos, e.g., abstaining from eating raw meats of all kinds and blood, from drinking alcoholic beverage and from committing adultery. He must help other people on various occasions. e.g. illnesses

suspected of being caused by evil spirits, ceremonies in connection with building a new house, driving evil spirits from possessing a piece of land, etc. He must not demand any specific amount of payment for his service. This is up to his clients. At present, he is still often called on by villagers to give his service.

According to him, many times he refused DD villagers' demand on him to become headman. Finally in 1957 he had to give in on the condition that he would serve only for one year. His achievement as headman was his role in building the Wat's big hall which was supported entirely out of villagers' contribution of money and labor. He was instrumental in getting the government's permission to cut trees in the forest so that wood for construction could be bought from the wood cutters at a bargain price.

10. [REDACTED]

He was headman until reaching 60 years of age, the first DD headman that came under the law of statutory retirement age for headman. His ancestors came from Roi-et. There are many [REDACTED] families in DD at present. [REDACTED] surname is connected to the Mahasarakham group through marriage.

11. [REDACTED]

His father came from Amphoe Kosum of Mahasarakham and was married into the Mahasarakham group in DD. He was born in DD and has many relatives on his mother's side. He was almost unanimously elected headman in 1973 beating Mr. [REDACTED], the other candidate, easily. Pho [REDACTED] actively campaigned for him and persuaded potential candidates to withdraw in favor of Mr. [REDACTED]. Even the nomination of Mr. [REDACTED] was made unexpectedly by some villagers without Mr. [REDACTED]'s knowledge on the election day. In this election it was the first time that there was an official vote casting and counting, villagers who had the right to vote being asked to cast their votes on ballots instead of being asked to walk forward to join different groups preferring different candidates.

12. [REDACTED]

(Present Headman) [REDACTED]

The present newly elected headman admitted that he did not know where his grand father and father came from. His mother belongs to the Mahasarakham group. He was born in DD and married to one of the daughters of Pho [REDACTED], one of the oldest and most respected man in DD who now has entered the monkhood at the new Wat Pa. Pho [REDACTED] is a member of the Roi-et group and is connected with the Mahasarakham group by marriage.

XX

VII. An Interview with Mr. Nhu (Tambon Doctor)

Born in Amphoe Kosum, Changwat Mahasarakham. His father came from C. Kalasin. He knows very little of his father's relatives. His older sister once went to Kalasin to try to trace her father's relatives and found that only a few persons of older generation could remember her father while none of the younger generation knew about him. Mr. Nhu knows only about his mother's relatives in Amphoe Kosum.

As young man he travelled widely and met his future wife in DD. He enjoyed life very much and entered monkhood for one year, together with friends who usually did things together and without any serious thinking about the merit of entering monkhood. Now he realizes that becoming a monk had brought many benefits to him - in character training and in education in Buddhist Dharma which he received by reading books by himself.

As Tambon doctor he now almost has nothing to do with health care in the Tambon, the function being taken over by the Tambon health and midwife clinic, assisted by several health communicators (1 to every 10 households) and health volunteers (1 in every village) who are appointed from among the villagers and trained for a short period by officials from the Ministry of Public Health. They work without pay. He now receives about 482 baht a month from the government, the highest he can get for a position like his.

His only concern now is to support his sons' education. He has done every thing possible for them. He and his wife work very hard and spend very little for themselves so that they could save some money to spare for their sons. The eldest son now has been in Bangkok for 5 years attending Ramkamhaeng University studying for a degree in law which he almost finishes. At present he stays with an uncle who is a monk at a monastery in Bangkok and receives from him about 20 baht a day plus university fees. He would like his children to have other occupations than farming but is always prepared to welcome them back to the village to do rice farming if they fail in their urban education.

He and his wife work for wage at 25 baht a day doing transplanting work for other farmers who do not have time because they work full-time at the Northeast Agricultural Center. However, he and his wife cannot work for wage at the same time since while one works the other has to take care of the family's two buffaloes.

Following is his idea about village affairs:

1. Having two monasteries in DD will in a long run cause the problem of disunity among the villagers. The village is not rich enough to support two monasteries. The older one (so-called Wat Ban or Village Wat) is still having a trouble finding enough money to finish building its Bot. The new one (so-called Wat Pa or Forest Wat) has now only a small living place for monks. They have to depend on the villagers for financial support, e.g. in the payment of electricity bills. They also attempt to raise their own funds by means of allowing private businessmen to organize movie shows on the Wat compound from which they receive a certain amount of income. Besides, villagers are likely to compare the strictness of behavior of the monks of the two Wats and disagreement may arise among villagers supporting different Wats even though in fact the behavior of the monks are not different.

It was the idea of former headman An and 12 other leading villagers to have this Forest Wat built on the ground of the villages's former shrine (Saal Poo-ta). Forest Wats are now found in many villages in the Northeast and other parts of Thailand. At present, only a few villages in DD areas have forest wats. Former headman An proposed the idea to the Tambon Council's meeting but this was rejected. The headman and his supporters needed their approval in order to petition the government for granting a legal status to the Wat. The headman was angry and branded the Tambon Council members the sinners. He and his supporters went it alone in building this forest wat without support from the Tambon Council. It was built on 28 November 1982 and has no legal recognition from the government.

2. Village Leadership

Village cooperation used to be satisfactory under the leadership of Headman Buddee (at the time of Mizuno) and Headman An during his early period. Many villagers attended village meetings. But Headman An during his later period lost the confidence of most villagers who suspected him of misusing the government money in the Rural Job Creation Project for his own benefit. As a result villagers did not care to attend village meetings called by Headman An. Under the new Headman the situation might improve but this cannot be said yet. It is still too early.

3. Village Development

A group of villagers (about 40) from DD and Don Noi have joined under the leadership of Don Noi Headman to ask the government to extend the canal from Ban Lao Nok Chum (village no. 4) to DD and Don Noi. This canal parallels Lam Chi and has been dug to carry water from Lam Chi by electric pumps which are to be installed soon. The government told the villagers to wait until results can be observed at Village no. 4. At

present, many villages near Lam Chi have benefited from electric pumps installed by the government which charges small fees for irrigation water provided.

4. Village Water Supply

He would like to see a water supply project undertaken in DD by means of pumping up water from Nong Kae to store in a tower and carrying water by pipes along the main roads of the village. House owners can then extend the pipes to their houses at their own expenses. This project was thought up by him long time ago but was rejected by other village leaders who decided to raise the money for village electrification project first. He would like this project to be reviewed again, though at present the government does not have any policy to give subsidy to the project.

5. Tambon Council

He thought the Tambon Council's decisions have not really been based on consideration of the merit of the projects proposed for support. Vote taking in deciding the projects to be approved is also not practical because representatives from other villages are afraid that DD, Don Noi and Don Han, being located near each other, are likely to support each other. Therefore, there is some kind of tacit agreement in the Tambon Council that the funds for development projects should be made available to different villages on rotation basis.

XX

VIII. Population Statistics of Changwat Khon Kaen and Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen

Total Number of Population of Changwat Khon Kaen

1919" = 235,682	1976# = 1,238,894
1929" = 339,769	1977# = 1,264,990
1937" = 475,516	1978# = 1,313,330
1947" = 590,638	1979# = 1,328,835
1957# = 774,617	1980# = 1,354,855
1967# = 989,952	1981# = 1,384,569

" = From National Censuses

= From Household Registries, compiled by Department
of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior

Population of Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen"

Year	Total	Within <u>Khon Kaen Municipality</u>	Outside <u>Khon Kaen Municipality</u>
1972	266,985	35,055	231,930
1973 ^a	291,175	64,402	226,773
1974 ^b	300,535	67,904	232,631
1975 ^b	259,571	71,526	188,045
1976 ^c	222,560	75,363	147,197
1977	230,340	80,286	150,054
1978	237,443	84,483	152,960
1979	245,678	89,925	155,753
1980	252,309	94,019	158,290
1981	261,573	100,210	161,363
1982	272,347	108,404	163,943

" = From household registries compiled by Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior

a = The territory of Khon Kaen Municipality was extended, resulting in a sudden increase of a large population

b = The territory of Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen was subdivided to form another sub-Amphoe, resulting in a decrease of population

c = Another subdivision to form a sub-Amphoe